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By the time the big lord living in the capital would have appointed several representatives to this particular fief because it had grown so big. Such fiefs were the ones most likely to fall prey to sub-division at the death of a king and appointment of a new one. For at this time the incoming monarch had to reward his chief supporters with grants of new fiefs.

As in the pre-nineteenth century the political hierarchy served as an appeal court system, and at the very top of the local fief hierarchy the junior lords shared adjudication with the most senior local leader whatever his rank. Usually these very senior political leaders of the fief had koranic scholars, or mallams, who gave legal advice. Serious cases such as homicide were referred immediately to the capital.

The other variety of fief, that based on birth into a particular group, or *jili* is less well understood. The word "jili" refers to variety or kind. The people speak of this or that jili of soil, or tree, or person. In using it to refer to a person they give his territorial or settlement background, or ethnic group, or his clan grouping if this differs from his territorial classification. Thus a person can have several jili —ethnic, territorial, or clan. Even patrilineal lineage affiliation can be described under this term. Nomadic groups in Bornu were represented as jili in the Shehu's court by a big lord of the jili (chima kura jilibe); this man was, in effect, the fief-holder responsible for the nomad group. Sometimes he was a leader of the group itself, and at other times he was a trusted Kanuri follower of the monarch. In both cases the big lord of the jili administered the group through his own representative in the group who was, unlike the territorial grouping, the local leader of a nomad clan, or a sub-tribe. Sometimes entire tribal groupings came under one jurisdiction, and at other times or in other sections of the state the tribe would be broken down into subsections based on clan groupings with one or more clans under a single fief-holder or big lord of the jili.

This double fief system allowed the nineteenth-century Bornu government the organizational means of administering both the settled and nomadic populations of Bornu. It also did something else very important, for it allowed the government effective control over the population even when natural disasters such as outbreaks of disease or sudden invasions sent the people into flight. If a large set of settlements had grown up in one territory from an original one, and this area was then beset by some disaster, which made the people flee in several directions, they were still thought of as a jili or a single variety of persons. They were still organized under their old lords, and their old leaders still retained over them some powers of taxation and demands of loyalty. If the entire kingdom was in an uproar —as it was during the Fulani wars at the beginning of the century with people fleeing in all directions—then old leaders, or former leaders, could muster their scattered followers as jili, and the political integration of the kingdom remained intact and viable until new settlements stabilized locally, and the territorial-based fief system could re-assert itself.

Complicating the system was the settlement of groups with fiefs through permission granted by the big lord in the capital. He could be approached by the leaders of a group of craftsmen, or kinsmen, or people of the same ethnic extraction, who requested of him that they be allowed to settle in one of his fiefs. In this case, the special group was directly under the jurisdiction of the lord through his local administrator, the junior lord, who dealt with their headman. In later generations,

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571 576 mutters "yes, yes, yes" while his superior is talking but keeps his eyes cast downwards; to very powerful superiors like the Shehu he must not talk directly at all, but to an intermediary. Wives of such persons are treated like senior in-laws. In- [582] deed, given the traditional practice of giving wives to clients, often from among one's own daughters, it is quite possible that the wife of a superior will one day become the mother-in-law of a client subordinate.

571 576 602 As a person grows up in his family, he also learns that there are some people with whom he can have very permissive relations. The ideal person is a grandparent, although a similar relationship exists between a spouse and all of his younger in-laws. A young boy can go to his grandfather's house and take things, pull his grandfather's beard, and generally misbehave, all the while receiving only a pat on the head for such licentiousness. Sex differences do not count here although there is sexual joking especially in the relations between a person and a junior in-law of the opposite sex.

571 576 578 602 [182] Later in life young boys and girls learn that such joking (*suli*) is a special form of interaction that can also be carried out between traditionally competitive occupational groups and traditionally hostile ethnic groups. On an individual basis one person in such a relationship calls the other "grandson" and the "grandson," being the younger, calls the older man "grandfather." The Kanuri explain that this helps to alleviate any tensions which may develop between the persons in such groups who are natural competitors or by tradition hostile to one another.

571 572 593 602 Finally, in the extended family and the household a young person grows up with brothers, sisters, and cousins who are also called siblings. The closer the age and interests of "siblings" of the same sex, the greater the solidarity and friendship. During childhood the young person usually chooses a young age-mate from amongst his siblings or cousins as his *ashirmanzə* or "secrets man," the person who knows his most intimate thoughts, hopes, and fears. Later in life, he chooses other *ashirmanzə* from inside his kinship network and outside it. He learns the faculty of intimacy, however, in his youthful friendships in the family and the household.

571 867 626 The family and the household then are orbits in which ways of behaving are learned and these characteristic norms of behavior are used for wider-scale social relations throughout the individual's life. At the core of these relations is *bərzum* discipline-respect. As well shall see, Bornu is an interwoven set of economic and political hierarchies, and this relationship of *bərzum* serves as the chief mechanism for the proper functioning of these complex relations between superiors and their subordinates.

## The Household

59 Kinship may form the biological and the behavioral basis for Kanuri society, but it does not provide a place for such relations to operate. The Kanuri live in cities, villages, and hamlets and the basic unit of organization in these settlements is the household, rather than the family or any set of kinship groups. Even though these may be synonymous in some cases, in many compounds family and household are certainly not the same, and the distinction is fundamental to an understanding of the society. Furthermore the household, or compound as it is sometimes called, is stable in comparison to the family. The family can be split, and

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The important point to be made here is that the Kanuri feel that the *barzum*[3] or discipline-respect ingredients of the father-son relationship can be transferred. This does not mean that they forget their own fathers who are their biological kin. However it does mean that they use the norms of the father-son relationship for self-advancement or for relating to other people as they would to their father, in return for those things that they obtain traditionally from a father. Kanuri were always coming to me and addressing me as their father, or asking for a small gift in the hope that they might repay me with some discipline and respect and begin initiating a *tada njima* role for themselves with me as their *abba njima*. However, there is more to initiating the role than simply asking me for a gift or doing a service. In order for it to work there must be *aman* or trust. A man must know when he brings a client into his household that he will try to behave like a son. Even then he waits patiently and watches to see how firm and fast the professed loyalty really is. Most Kanuri say that a year is not too long a period to wait while testing out the strength of such a relationship before actually giving the person (the *tada njima*) some real responsibilities from which both the household head and the client might gain.

This means of adding to a household can produce very extensive groupings under the proper conditions. If a man has a powerful political post, either in the traditional or modern post-colonial administration, his activities in trade, farming, tax collection, or adjudication means that he can use a large following of loyal and obedient clients. The transferability of the father-son relationship allows men to build up such organizations whenever they have the means to maintain them. Kanuri judge success in life not by wealth or power per se, but by the size of a man's following. And the best indication of this is the size of the household and those related households over which he has some control. Thus great households, the greatest of which is that of the Shehu of Bornu, form the upper class group of Kanuri society. Wealthy traders have many *tada njima* who, after their loyalty has been proven, are given goods and money to go out and trade for their superiors. Bornu society is such that powerful men, indeed any man wishing to raise his status, require loyal followers and clients who use the ingredients of the father-son relationship to define their interpersonal relations. Certainly many of the people a man may depend upon are members of his own descent group, but kinsmen differ from clients in a number of important respects. Kinsmen may profit not only by one another's success, but through inheritance they also gain by each other's death. Or if a particular prerogative, say access to political office of some kind, resides in one male line, then an office-holder's male relatives may profit from his dismissal since one of them may be considered as a replacement. Furthermore relationships based on descent cannot be broken completely—some mutual dependence always remains—even though a superior dislikes the services of his descent group member who is serving as his subordinate. Clientship is more rational in this respect since clients can in effect be "fired" for poor performance of their duties. Thus clientship, represented by the *tada njima* relationship, is a flexible and useful tool in the building of Kanuri households and even larger social groupings.

Finally it is important to remember that all of these important relationships are basically those within a household. This is the stage upon which family life

[3] The letter ɔ is pronounced as the "oo" in "look" or "book."

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takes place. Here an individual learns the modes of behavior towards others that he requires for an adequate and successful social life in Kanuri society. The kinship system, the family, and the household produce individuals who can live in other households; and using the basic modes of behavior from household life they can participate in the widely ramified political and economic organization of their society. Thus kinship, family, and household—but most importantly the household and the superior-subordinate relations within it—provide a basis and a locus for maintaining the society and its values in their present form.

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this food is given as charity to the older women of the group who have no husbands. Both of these acts, the giving of the food and the sending out of the kola nuts, are said to be the formal announcement of the new baby's birth as well as an invitation to attend the naming ceremony held on the eighth day after birth, that is to say on the same day one week later.

It is worth noting at this point that these precautions are well adapted to the facts of Kanuri life. Infant mortality is extremely common, varying for example between 122 and 240 per thousand in the urban areas where the hospitals have been keeping records. This is especially true of the first few hours and days after birth. One man in Magumeri had only two children alive out of nine born to him and his one wife, and five of these nine had died within the first eight days of life. Although this case is somewhat exceptional, it is not difficult to hear of comparable reports throughout the emirate. The Kanuri see many of these deaths as being the result of someone's or something's (a spirit, for instance) malevolent intentions. Charms and prayers are used and divination by religious leaders is sometimes resorted to because of the insecurity the parents feel over the survival of their newborn infant. Thus the eight-day period before the naming ceremony is a cultural buffer, a cushion that allows for the disappointment and grief associated with the highly possible death of the infant.

## The Naming

Early in the morning of the eighth day the formal naming ceremony is performed. As they do for all public gatherings, men and women go separately; the women, in groups formed into single files according to rank, move past the men who are seated on the ground near the entrance to the compound. The ground millet flour and other foods received at this time as gifts allow the wife to prepare her husband's food during her confinement without engaging in a most arduous part of her work—that of grinding the millet into flour. Inside the compound the women sit in front of the mother's hut chatting gaily and coloring their teeth with tobacco flowers and a local plant used specifically for this purpose. The barber and his young assistant or apprentice arrive and cut facemarks on the new-born infant and then remove its uvula. While waiting to carry out this ritual function, the barber and his assistants cut the women's hair free of charge as a mark of the festiveness of the occasion. The women collect some money for the barber which is given to him after the baby has been successfully incised. The ceremony ends when perfume is passed among the women and all assembled dip their fingers in tiny bottles or a glass, then rub the scent over their neck and hands. Many, however, stay on talking and chatting for several hours before drifting back in small groups to their own compounds.

In front of the compound the men sit on mats. On one side of the gate sit the *mallams* (religious practitioners) reading from the Koran. On the other side of the infant's hut are the men of the household sitting in order of seniority with the most senior closest to the door. Next to them are their close friends, relatives, and the highest ranking people in attendance. The rest spread out along the north side of the compound under its front wall and everyone waits for the name to be an-

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dug in the sandy soil between the ankles and the infant then has a simple and comforting toilet ready made for it by the mother. Afterwards its loins are washed and the hole covered up with sand. During the entire infant stage breast-feeding is carried on easily and simply upon demand by the infant for the breast. Indeed the breast is generally used as a pacifier.

A typical scene in a mother's hut illustrates the way in which the introduction of a new baby to society is carried out. The mother and her friends sit around chatting and they pass the baby around, dandling it in turn, although the baby remains with the mother for a large part of the time. A very common topic of conversation at such times is, quite unsurprisingly, the new baby. But unlike a similar group of American ladies most of the talk is *to* and not *about* the baby. The mother and many of those present tell the uncomprehending infant in sing-song voices about its kindred, "So-and-so is your father, so-and-so is your brother, so-and-so is your sister," and so on through a vast complex of kinship links on both the mother's and the father's side of the family. The infant is also told in the same way about its neighborhood, its section of the town, or its village, its political leaders, and so on. "So-and-so is your village head, so-and-so is your district head, and this is your tribe and this is your emirate, and this is your *Shehu*, and so-and-so is your Waziri." The family occupation is also mentioned and how soon the infant is going to help in such-and-such activities around the compound and grow up into successful adulthood within the framework of all the associations and expectations that are referred to constantly.

Why tell a baby about its social connections, occupational expectations, political affiliations, and so on? Certainly later on, when it can understand a little more of the language, such talk is a means of initiating it into the social groupings of the society. However at this stage another function is performed. The child is a new member of the society, and it is being introduced into and given a recognizable place in its social setting. The new member means new relationships. So-and-so who did not have a younger brother's son, now has one; someone else now has a new cousin and perhaps a future spouse; or someone else now has a sister's son or an additional one. The coming of the *tiful* or infant creates changes because a new member has been added and in introducing it to society people are asked to shift their understanding of the organizations which now must include this new member. By constantly referring to these new relationships during the infant's first few months people close to the family affirm to themselves and finally to others the fact that many relationships are different now that the new baby has arrived safely.

As far as training goes, the *tiful* is too young to be very harshly dealt with or to be told not to do this or that. Its primary task is to survive and grow into a useful, law-abiding, member of its community.

## Childhood

Infancy ends as weaning begins, about the end of the eighteenth month although a good deal of variation exists in actual practice so that many are weaned earlier. In general weaning is carried out with a matter-of-fact attitude as if to say,

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they point to the major functions of the event. Certainly it marks publicly the opening of the gates on the road to manhood for the young man, but, much more importantly, it validates, strengthens and dramatizes the relational network of ties that the family and the household maintain and attempt to promote in the society.

At some of the larger ceremonies, especially those held by the high-ranking households in Bornu, there is often a small group of recent converts who ask to join the ceremony in order to mark their religious conversion and obtain full membership in Kanuri society. In one very large circumcision we saw forty-seven boys from high status households and ten Cameroon pagans ranging in age from fifteen to thirty-five. These latter seemed completely ecstatic to have been accepted at the ceremony and were the subject of much ribald joking by the Kanuri participants. However they now had an easier access to Kanuri women as wives and sweethearts, and it is conceivable that when they do in fact marry Kanuri women they and their descendants will eventually be absorbed into Kanuri society. Thus the circumcision ceremony is one of the important gateways into society for non-Moslems from the small tribes surrounding Bornu on its southern and southeastern borders.

As in many cultures around the world, the Kanuri themselves regard the circumcision ceremony as a mark of approaching manhood, and even though the boys are often quite young the ceremony still dramatizes their adult or approaching adult status. Thus after the boys have come out of confinement during which the cut heals, they are given whips which they brandish while chasing and threatening the young girls. The girls must "buy off" such treatment by giving the young boy a few pennies. This ritual was left unexplained by informants who answered questions about its meaning by saying, "We do this because it is our custom." However, it seems likely that it is a symbolic reference to the achievement of manhood or potential manhood. It symbolizes through ritual the cultural value of male dominance which the boys must now begin to practice as they prepare to join the ranks of adult men. The "buying off" of the beating by the little girls can be interpreted to reflect the flexibility of female submissiveness; a woman must behave submissively towards a man but she has levers to gain her own rights and wishes in [redacted]ationships with men.

## Adolescence

As we have seen, there is an extra age-grade period for boys which lasts from around the time of circumcision to their first marriage between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five. At first the young man is still thought of as a small boy, but as he advances into middle and late teenage years he becomes more of a *zairo*—that is to say, a young bachelor. He associates in his free time with other young men his age and begins to gossip about trade, politics, and nocturnal adventures with women. Young boys generally obtain their first sexual experience in their mid to late teenage period from divorced women who are often older than themselves. In their later teens and early twenties they begin to have more serious love affairs of longer duration with young divorced women who may turn out to be their future wives if their first marriages are not already arranged by their parents.

Sitting and listening to a group of these young men discussing matters of

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must ask his permission to do anything. To be seen speaking to another man is grounds for divorce. On the other hand a divorced woman is free. She comes and goes as she pleases and speaks to whoever she pleases quite freely. Some women quite frankly remark that they prefer this status to that of marriage while others just as strongly remark that they would like to get a husband.

In summary, maturity is a time of achievement for men in which they become full-fledged members of their community. They marry, try to raise families, and become heads of successful and productive households. Women try to marry successfully and hopefully to have children. However, as I have pointed out elsewhere, tensions caused by the demands of subordination in their married role produce strains and rebelliousness that very often leads to the break-up of marriage.[3] In the final analysis the culture is androcentric; there are many means by which men can become successful—through their occupation, their associations with neighbors, relatives, friends, and important men, and through membership and finally headship of a household. In spite of a turnover in wives associated with the high amount of divorce, the household itself is a stable unit, although its personnel is not. On the other hand, it is the rare Kanuri woman who can achieve a successful adulthood. Many women are barren or have had children who have not survived. Very few women remain married to the same men all their lives and most have had one or more extended periods of being divorced and looking for a husband. By centering on men and emphasizing their needs and wishes, Kanuri culture has produced a strain on women that is a fertile field for changes when modernization produces the possibility of new goals for women and new means for achieving them.

## Old Age

Old age is signalled in both sexes by the whitening of body hair even though other body characteristics may remain strong and healthy. For both old men and women this last period in life means that many of the obligations and responsibilities of adult life are slowly relinquished, although men generally feel that they belong to the adult roles much longer than women. As heads of households and office holders in governmental positions, men wield powers in a number of spheres and give these up slowly and reluctantly as old age drains away their energy and efficiency. Ideally in Kanuri culture a man should reach the golden years of his life in his old age. If all goes well he receives much respect; his work is carried on by descendants, and his position as a household head may have grown to the point where he is the senior authority among a group of households organized along the lines of a patrilocal extended family with clients, sons, brothers, and their wives and families looking to him for leadership. When he is very old and becoming progressively infirm, he lets many of these duties pass to mature members of the group. Even then they always consult him on decisions and pay heed to his wishes.

The reality in Kanuri society is often far from the ideal although the ideal is a very widely agreed upon goal. To obtain this most desirable position in old age a

[3] See Ronald Cohen, "Marriage instability among the Kanuri of Northern Nigeria," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 63, 1231–1249.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14



in Magumeri died in the morning and was buried in the afternoon. The people explained this by saying that it was the hot season and he had died early in the morning. To wait until the next morning, they said, was too long and not good for the community. This was an oblique way of referring to the belief that the ghost of a dead man is dangerous especially to children until he is buried.

The ceremony itself is quite simple. The body is washed, wrapped in a white cloth and placed on a bier, and then taken out to the burial grounds by the men. Prayers are said continually and the family mourns officially for forty days by saying special prayers and remaining close to home. During the ceremony men remain impassive, quietly telling their beads and praying softly to themselves. Women, on the other hand, come in groups walking slowly in single file wailing and crying, especially if the deceased is a close neighbor, friend, or relative. If a man is needed for a short communication, a woman might stop wailing suddenly, talk in an ordinary voice, then just as quickly resume her keening. A few women at every funeral were observed who were much more totally involved and did not break up their wailing when asked to do something else. Sometimes these wails of the women become songs with words. This is less true at funerals of men where if it happens the song or chant says over and over again, "He was a good man." For a dead woman the words are also, "She was a good woman," but an added verse, especially if the dead woman was not very old, refers to the hard life of a woman and how long and unending are her chores. There is a definite implication here that the heavy burdens of womanhood can bring an early death.

This, then is the Kanuri life cycle; it is adapted to Bornu society and the historical development of that society. The fact that the household is the major unit of social organization means that people of different ages are constantly in touch with one another. Even though those in all age groups have many friends of their own age, they associate freely and easily with people of all age groups within their household where membership crosses generation lines. This means that younger age groupings are constantly learning the ways of behaving and thinking of those older than themselves and almost automatically know how to act as they grow up. By contrast in many western societies interaction between generations is extremely difficult, and each generation seems to be developing an almost semi-separate culture whose intricacies must be learned after one has joined that particular age group. Because western schooling has not yet separated an entire generation from their parents, there is little room among the Kanuri for many discontinuities in learning, and therefore in hopes, fears, and aspirations on the part of each successive generation. Obviously this has produced and helps to maintain much of the stability in Kanuri society, and as such it is a key factor when we wish to ask questions about conditions of change in the entire society of Bornu.

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To make calabashes Ka'anami buys dried half-gourds, then scrapes the excess vegetable matter from the inside and burns designs on the outer surface with hot irons. The tools are simple, merely a number of wood-handled iron blades made by the local blacksmith. Add to this charcoal for the fire to heat the irons, and the list of materials necessary for his occupation is complete. In the dry season when he is not planting Ka'anami makes about two calabashes a day on Fridays and Saturdays—the two days before Magumeri's market day, on Sunday. On Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday he goes to other markets or makes calabashes on commission for people who want special orders. On the average he makes about fifteen calabashes per month for the four months of the wet season. For the dry season he estimates that his productivity goes up to about twenty a month. This means that on his own Ka'anami produces about 250 to 300 calabashes a year. If this sounds like a lot, it must be remembered that he sells them for anything between forty cents and seventy-five cents each. Subtract from this the cost of the gourds (about fifteen cents each) and add the fact that some weeks he doesn't sell all his wares, and it is easy to realize that the entire proceeds of Ka'anami's craftwork do not produce much beyond $150 to $200 per year in income.

Ka'anami's father, his father's younger brother, and one of his father's younger brother's sons, plus a man who for years has been a subordinate to Ka'anami's father all live in adjoining compounds and all make calabashes. Each compound is to a large extent independent, yet all originally were under the guidance and direction of Ka'anami's father who considers himself the leader of this group of households. If higher political authorities in the village wish to contact anyone in this group they invariably do so through Ka'anami's father thus recognizing his leadership and giving it legitimacy in the community.

In summary this way of productive life is far removed from the regular eight-hour day of the industrial worker. Ka'anami could no doubt produce more calabashes if he worked more rapidly and for longer hours and more days a week. But he doesn't have to—his efforts support his family and himself, and Ka'anami likes his life. He enjoys sitting in an entrance hut in his part of town with friends and relatives, people he has known all his life, talking, joking, gossiping, and moralizing about rural events. Indeed even a casual brush with Ka'anami's life indicates that he sits talking and resting in the shade for long periods of time. But he works too, and when he does he often sits around a common fire at his father's entrance hut with the other calabash makers talking or singing softly while each man looks to his own hot irons and unfinished gourds. Even when he works alone in his own compound or with his brother Dolo, friends come to visit him, or he dandles his infant daughter on his lap while cleaning out a gourd. His family, his friends and neighbors, and his fellow workers, are all interwoven into the pattern of his household life and his relation to the surrounding households. Thus the social and economic side of Ka'anami's life is part of the same fabric—this is the human side of cottage industry.

In the case below we see another household in which *tada njima* or client apprentices are more prominent and yet many of the same kinds of social and economic relations prevail.

MALA BUKAR, THE BUTCHER The butcher's craft, although lucrative in relation to other activities like Ka'anami's or blacksmithing, is a low status occupation, and many butchers including Mala Bukar are quick to say that

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Besides the interlocking cycles of local markets many villages and all cycles have links with the larger centers of the export-import trade of Bornu Province. If there are roads, trucks bring out goods and people from the city at least once a week and take back locally produced things to the city. Where there are no roads the camel caravan and donkey load do the same job they have done for centuries. Where the market is too small or too remote, then the interlocking nature of the cycle brings and takes goods to a larger place on a main route.

Markets, especially those on motor roads, tend to set the pattern or rhythm of intersettlement communication and travel. Thus if Bukar of Magumeri wishes to take several bags of millet to Yerwa (the usual name for Maiduguri), he knows that he can get a lorry at the Thursday, Sunday, or Monday markets which will take him and his goods to the capital. Again if Bukar's sister is coming to visit him from the capital or some other distant place in Bornu, she will arrive on a market day. If a man's wife wishes to divorce him or he her, she must wait until market day to leave him in order to obtain proper transportation back to her relatives if they live in some distant part of the province. Thus the market cycle plus the presence of lorries and roads determines a large part of the rhythm of rural life and this in turn adds zest, interest, and excitement to market days. Beyond this rhythmical quality markets are also major sources of news and gossip about politics, marriages, births, circumcisions, and deaths. Pagans brew beer for sale on the local market day, and gamblers hold card games in the nearby bush area. Gambling, strangers, new bits of gossip, perhaps a new woman or two, drummers and entertainers, all contribute and create not just an ordinary day for buying and selling goods, but a festive occasion that is regarded as a welcome break or relief in the daily monotony of rural life.

Most markets have very little formal organization. Each one has its head man or "big man of the market" to whom disputes are referred, and if he cannot settle the disagreement, then it is taken to the head of the village or to the judge if the village boasts a regular Moslem court. In the capital city the market is so large and disputes so frequent that there is a special court nearby to handle market affairs. In the market itself, each variety of thing being sold has its own section, and, as in the village, the butcher's section is generally on the lee side (southwest) of the market site. In the larger villages market fees are taken from sellers who use the stalls, but this is uncommon in small centers where they just take the first one available as long as they restrict themselves to that section of the market given over to their particular type of selling.

Prices vary with the season, the time of day, and how common the item is. Taking the last point first, a fancy imported man's robe may have a relatively wide price range since not many people buy these, and the seller tries to charge as much as he can. At the other end are items like boxes of sugar cubes which everyone buys regularly. The prices of such items are well known and people do not haggle over them at all but simply give the money to the seller since both know the standard price. Some food commodities such as millet and guinea corn are sold in the Magumeri market at a flat price for a small gourd-full of grain, but the prices vary for a bag of grain over the year. In order to keep prices constant sellers simply vary the size of the gourd. In general, food prices rise during the growing season when they

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14



The lawan's son in Magumeri, like many others whose fathers have positions of authority, wisely avoids any active leadership in his father's administration. His job as the adult education organizer for a literary campaign in the entire district keeps him traveling much of the time, and he never interferes with the political organization which he may one day inherit. His father, on the other hand, is one of the few enthusiastic supporters of adult education and enforces the program vigorously in Magumeri since he knows this will help his son's career in the Bornu emirate government. If and when the son should ever replace his father, or gain some political office elsewhere in the kingdom, he would recruit many of his subordinates from the households of his father's followers. Thus superior-subordinate relations are often continued down the generations. Some fall by the wayside because there are always more potential followers available than needed, as the households of followers expand with their own children and clients. However since the son may choose any one within or beyond his father's administration he can insist on only the best performance and the most loyalty from those chosen. On the other hand, should the son not obtain his father's position, and not succeed in any other way in the political or economic life of Bornu, then his father's followers will begin to see that they must find places elsewhere for the younger members of their own households. When this happens the continuity of lawan's administration down the generations begins to disintegrate. This process is repeated at every level of the political hierarchy and lies near the core of political life in Bornu.

On a day-to-day basis the most important matters, especially in rural areas like Magumeri, are taken to the lawan. As we have seen in Chapter 5 he is a central figure in transferring land, using his office as a sort of registry for local land negotiations. He witnesses many marriages and divorces, and arbitrates disputes among those under his jurisdiction. Indeed most of the people living in Magumeri feel more secure about a decision they have made that might affect their neighbors if the matter is ratified and witnessed by a person in authority. Thus if a man in Magumeri village wishes to move his compound walls and expand his dwelling space, he speaks to his ward head about it, and they both go to the lawan to report the intended action. The lawan asks one or two of his followers to find out if the contiguous neighbors object, and if so on what grounds. If there is no objection the action is ratified; if some are forthcoming, then a judicial hearing results in which the lawan hears the case. What this means is that for almost everyone in Bornu, especially in the rural areas, an enormous number of everyday activities are taken through the political system when relations between households are at issue. This in turn means that the political system is close to and very involved with the daily lives of the people.

As a salaried official of the emirate government, the lawan collects taxes from all men over eighteen in the village area. This is based on property assessments of their capital in cash and kind for that particular year. Over-taxing is common in rural areas where the people are illiterate, and even when it is not done, the taxpayers believe it is common. If the over-taxing is too burdensome, it is known that complaints against the lawan to higher officials in Bornu can bring at least an investigation and perhaps lead to his dismissal.

There is no doubt that the lawan can punish people for not recognizing his

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

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# Conclusion

THIS THEN, is the Kanuri society of Bornu as I have come to know it over a period of years. I have left many things out or merely skimmed over them in order to make a major point. There is a rich ceremonial life related to the annual cycle of Islamic festivals; there are beliefs about the nature of the world, how it is constructed and what causes things to happen in it. There is a complicated set of concepts about social rank and class which I have not gone into; and there are, I believe, distinct features of personality that give to Kanuri individuals a set of attitudes that are adapted to their own way of life. Some of these I know about, others, like their personality, I only suspect but cannot as yet prove because of inadequate information. However the features that have been described were those designed to answer the question quoted at the beginning of this book. In the first Chapter I asked, "What are the set of organized activities by which the Kanuri of Bornu have adapted to their environment and created means for the maintenance, continuity, and evolution of their society?" My answer to this question has been to show how a number of different sectors of Kanuri social life are interrelated and built up from the basic unit of society, namely the household organization and the modes of behavior utilized in the household or compound in its everyday activities.

Taking this approach I have been reflecting the opinions and beliefs of my Kanuri informants. In other words, my basic theory about Kanuri society and how it operates is really not my own but that used by the Kanuri themselves when they try to explain their own society in general terms. In trying to instruct me about their culture and how it works, they continually harken back to the household. The household is the basic political unit in Bornu; groups of households link up to form wards, hamlets, villages, and districts. To found a new settlement one or more linked households move out and begin to operate as a semi-independent community. The everyday business of getting a living is organized within a household, and a series of households linked through their household heads can form larger economic organizations for productive or trading purposes. Family life, the crucible of human society, is of course centered within the household. Finally the modes of behavior that one requires in order to adapt to everyday social relationships in the society are learned within the household.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14



What about larger organizations like the emirate political hierarchy and the trading organizations based on stores or canteens, that is to say, modern business enterprises? These obviously contain people who are not members of the same household. Certainly this is true, but often, as in the trading organizations, junior clerks in the store did at one time live in the household of the store owner or still do live there. Much more important, the Kanuri claim, is the fact that the proper way to behave in a political or economic hierarchy is the way one behaves in a household organization or a set of linked households. The junior in the organization gives *bərzum* (or discipline-respect) to his superior and in return he receives the benefits of membership, that is to say, he receives a social and political status, protection, and economic gain, for the loyalty and obedience which he delivers to his superior. This to the Kanuri is the most important single behavior in social life. It is learned in the household and then used to link households and individuals together in all of the organizations that are important in the society as a whole. The inference here is that the society is basically and essentially hierarchical—one in which most relationships are of a superior-subordinate variety—and indeed this is true except for friendship groups that do not, however, carry on many of the fundamental activities in Bornu.

It is because this underlying unity is still so firm and central a feature of Kanuri social life that I have not stressed the fact that my trips to Bornu straddle the historic fact of Nigerian independence. Political independence has brought no change in the way in which the bulk of the Kanuri organize their social life and live out the contents of their daily lives in their households, their villages, and their emirate. These modes of behaving have ancient roots in the area, and independence has not witnessed any widespread attempts to change things or to create new modes of organizing the social life of the emirate. Top administrators are now Nigerians, not British colonial officials, but what and how they administer in Bornu is roughly the same as it was in the pre-independence era of the 1950s. When I spoke to some of the leaders of the emirate in 1965 about their understanding of changes that might occur in the political system or the way in which the emirate was organized, they commented that the system was efficient and could serve as a stable, trustworthy form of local political organization through which any changes might come and still keep Bornu as a viable entity for a long time in Nigeria's future.

What is different today, and different only in degree, is the commitment to modernization on the part of top leadership and the initiative they are willing to show in this regard. The leaders are committed whole-heartedly to expanding western education, obtaining better health services, and decreasing disease. They also hope to increase productivity in agriculture and introduce the beginnings of industrialization into Bornu. Steps are being taken in all directions, and only the future can tell what of the past will actually enter into a future that at least on the surface seems in its ultimate goal to be so different from the majestic past and the present of the Kanuri of Bornu.

Since attendance in the schools is to a certain extent
871 compulsory, it is necessary at least for Village Heads and
555 District Heads to send their sons to school. In addition,
political advancement under the current system demands a cer-
[177] tain amount of education. Thus a paradox: it is necessary
[182] to accept certain non-Kanuri values, to be educated outside
of the traditional Kanuri system, in order to succeed in the
political system which has become incorporated as part of
463 Kanuri culture. Young men who are graduated from secondary
[874] school are trained as sanitation officers, agricultural as-
sistants, veterinary assistants, medical dispensers, hides
[554] and skins inspectors, clerks, and school-teachers. They func-
tion as a professional class, and they are called 'Malam', an
extension of the title given to a learned man which formerly
[871] meant a scholar of the Koran. The presence in a town of vet-
[555] erinary Malams and dispensary Malams, often the sons of Vil-
lage Heads or District Heads, provides a slight incentive to
ordinary villagers to send their sons to school, since these
Malams are salaried employees of the Native Authority. Often
the Malams themselves go into politics and seek appointments
as Village Heads or District Heads, following their fathers.
Thus they return to traditional leadership in the Kanuri com-
munity.

3. Economy.

433 Perhaps the greatest changes which have occurred in Bornu
439 Province are economic--Bornu today is part of the world. The

779 of the population is pagan (Maguzawa), there are no pagan
177 Kanuri. Among the tribes who are influenced by and are ac-
779 culturating to the Kanuri, the Bede, the Babur, and the Marghi, both pagans and Mos1-ms can be found.

795 According to Trimingham[1], many pagans in the Western Sudan become Moslems by slipping into Islam, calling themselves "Mohammad", and imitating their fellows without special ceremoney. A rite is performed in the case of chiefs and important men, where public recognition is sought. This is undoubtedly the case for those part-Moslem, part-pagan peoples surrounding the Kanuri, and was also probably true in former centuries when the Kanuri themselves adopted Islam.

182 Today Islam is well integrated into Kanuri culture. Without
779 entering into a detailed discussion of Islam as practiced by the Kanuri, those general areas which are most affected by Islam will be discussed here. These include: law, education and social organization. To begin with, however, it is necessary to discuss the general features of Islamic worship as exemplified by the Pillars of Islam.

1. The Pillars of Islam.

782 The Pillars of Islam are five in number. The first of these is the confession of faith (shahada) which those who

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1. J. Spencer Trimingham, Islam in West Africa (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), see Appendix I "Ceremony of Joining Islam", p. 226.

782 untary alms. Zakat, the tithe for the church, is not given
[793] by the Kanuri. Consequently the clergy are dependent entirely
[792] on sadaka. Koranic specialists who devote themselves entirely to study of the Koran, and to the teaching of the Koran are called Malams. The Malams are supported by sadaka which devout Kanuri are expected to give.

788 The fifth and last Pillar of Islam is the pilgrimage.
177 All who can manage the pilgrimage to Mecca (haj) without hardship are expected at some time to make this trip. The Mais and Shehus undertook the pilgrimage, and in fact, el Kanemi spent some years in Mecca. Large numbers of the Kanuri populace have also made the pilgrimage. Its effect has been to tie Kanuri society to the larger world of Islam, in that way to share in a larger community and to bring back to Bornu new ideas and new products. Pilgrims who travel across the width of Africa by truck from Lake Chad to the Red Sea, find that they have a common bond with other Moslems in the towns through which they pass.

78 The nature of religious observance among the Kanuri can be
182 seen in their adherence to the Pillars of Islam. But Islam
[576] enters into Kanuri life at numerous additional points: in the
[275] common greetings between two individuals when they meet; in the
[262] abstention from any form of alcoholic beverage which tends to
[772] be widely observed; in food taboos; in Koranic charms which most
[757] individuals wear; and in the use of ink from verses of the Koran
796 as cures for illness. Most life crises are marked by religious

779 58 [593] marriage contract, is a common Islamic feature. Sexual rights of the husband, as well as his responsibilities for the support of his wife, are supported by Islamic law. Lastly, Islam does not necessarily recognize marriage as a permanent arrangement; [182] consequently divorce is simple and commonly resorted to. All of these practices, commonly associated with Islamic societies, are characteristic of Kanuri society and are well integrated in Kanuri custom concerning marriage and the family.

D. The Community

162 [161] The population of Bornu Emirate is just over a million people. About one-third live in towns with a population of more than 7,000 (see Table I). Following Maiduguri, the capital, which has a total population of 83,327 including the outlying villages, but only 56,777 in the town proper, there are ten towns with populations exceeding 10,000. The average size of these ten towns is 13,879. There are 16 more towns in Bornu Emirate with populations of between 7,000 and 10,000. These 26 towns, plus Maiduguri proper, account for 325,640 people, almost a third of the population.

369 632 121 Although there may be some question whether a town with a population of 10,000 may properly be called "urban," it is clear that on the folk-urban continuum, such towns are distinctly approaching the urban pole[1]. These towns have few or none of the

1. If Miner can call Timbuktu, with its population of 6,500, a "primitive city," then these are certainly towns, or "urban centers." see Horace Miner, The Primitive City of Timbuktu (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 52 ]

632 366 368 Two other foci of the Kanuri town are the market-place and the central mosque. The market-place is of course the center for all local trade, and on the particular market day of a town, activities center in the market, which is alive with people. On Friday, the central mosque, where people gather to pray, becomes the communal center. Throughout the week the compound of the Ajia (the Ajari), should the town be the administrative center of a district, is the focus of bureaucratic activity. In addition, activity centers around other public buildings: the court, the school, the dispensary, the public reading room, etc.

369 632 463 The three foci of the Kanuri town indicated above, the Ajari, the market-place, and the mosque, are of themselves strong arguments for the urban nature of the Kanuri town. Each is typically the center of an urban activity and urban occupations. The Ajia has, under him, a range of bureaucratic specialists: the Alkali, the Chief Scribe, the Treasurer, the Department of Police, the school-teachers and dispenser. The mosque is representative of the various religious specialists: the Imam, and the many malams of the town. The market-place typifies commercial activity, which more than anything else is characteristic of urban life, with its various specialists in trade and in crafts.

## E. Social Organization

611 171 182 Unlike the majority of African societies, the Kanuri do not have unilineal descent. As Meyer Fortes notes, "The more

611 centralized the political system the greater the tendency seems
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182 to be for the corporate strength of descent groups to be reduced or for such corporate groups to be non-existent."[1] This is particularly apt in describing the Kanuri. Fortes states that the Nupe, the Zulu and the Hausa exemplify this. Culturally, the Kanuri share a good deal with both the Nupe and the Hausa, who are also Sudanic state-societies influenced by Islam, and this similarity extends to their social organization as well. In fact, the Kanuri represent the most extreme development of these features, for whereas among both the Nupe and the Hausa patrilineal lineages and sibs are reported the Kanuri are clearly bilateral in descent, and do not have corporate kin groups at all.

594 The most important social unit determined by kinship is
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000 the nuclear or the polygamous family. Consequently, this section will be concerned with a discussion of marriage, residence, the family and the household. Other aspects of social organization which are not based on kinship, such as the class structure, will be discussed separately.

1. Marriage.

586 It may seem curious to begin a section on marriage with a
587 statement about divorce; nevertheless it is important to note at the start that the Kanuri divorce frequently, commonly, and

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1. Meyer Fortes. "The Structure of Unilineal Descent Groups," American Anthropologist, 55, No. 1 (1953), p. 26.

592 464 571 self, he may become part of the small but growing proletariat in the cities, who work for wages for a European company.

592 571 It is interesting to note that under normal circumstances the relationship between the tata njima and the head of a household can be perpetuated after the tata njima has married and has set up his own small household--with his wife and children. The master of his household provides him with a bride since he has paid the luwaliram, and though the tata (son) has left the compound itself, he continues to acknowledge the relationship. He does this by returning regularly to eat at his master's house. [264] Patterns of eating form wide circles encompassing many households at times, and delineating a wider network of relationships. 592 571 182 The nature of the relationship between individuals outlined here is at the core of Kanuri social structure. It characterizes a social relationship, as well as an economic and political relationship; it is repeated at every level of Kanuri society, and in slightly different form it epitomizes the nature of political relations at the state level as well.

592 To recapitulate briefly, the household as a social unit may include the following classes of people:

1. An adult married male--master of the household.
2. Remainder of the nuclear family--his wife or wives and their children.
3. Members of the extended family--elderly parents.
4. Adopted children--either given to relatives (and therefore also part of the extended family), or given to chibuna.

634 871 555 177 565 554 see that, in order to succeed politically in future years, a school education is an advantage since the youngster learns to speak English, and learns enough of the ways of the Englishman to better himself. Thus the group of NA Malams that has emerged derives from the aristocracy or from minor political officialdom. Their goals are commensurate with their social background; all hope some day to be appointed Lowan or Ajia, or to achieve political power by gaining a post in Maiduguri. As a group, therefore, they belong within the political structure, though their roles are not specifically political. Their aspirations are the traditional Kanuri aspirations toward political power and social prestige. However, the means to obtain power which [178] is represented by the NA Malams is newly emergent in Kanuri society.

E. Religion at the Communal Level.

128 76 Religious practice among the Kanuri does not differ from [184] community to community. Therefore, in discussing the manifestations of religion in the community of Geidam, it will not be necessary to describe Islamic observances, such as the ritual 128 79 prayer. The present discussion will be limited to two areas: [181] religious specialists and their place in the social system of Geidam; and religious festivals as they are celebrated at the community level.

2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14



[GEIDAM]

796 and most of the important traders. Eating from one bowl at
574 the head group were, in addition to the Alkali, the Chief Scribe,
554 the Treasurer, Malam Jalo, Sidi Mohammad, and the writer.

796 Celebration of the festival marking the end of Ramadan,
• 182 Ngumeri Ashembe, has been described in some detail above. In
554 the description can be seen the integration of a religious festival with the social structure of the town of Geidam. Keeping of the fast is observed by the entire community and serves to bind its members through a ritual of suffering. The communal bond is further strengthened by public prayer marking the end of the fast. The roles of various office-holders can be seen in connection with these observances. The Liman leads the public prayers; the Alkali attests to the sighting of the new moon; and the Ajia more than any other person uses the festival celebrations to demonstrate and to validate his high status and his great power. The day of Ngumeri Ashembe is marked by horse displays in which the kabuna of the Ajia vow their allegiance to him, before large crowds of admiring townspeople. On the following day all the important men of the town are invited to a great feast at the Ajari, and vast quantities of food are distributed by the Ajia who demonstrates the generosity expected of a great Kanuri aristocrat and receives the deferential courtesies owed to a great man. The feast which the Alkali makes is minor in comparison and is limited solely to the town aristocracy and the NA Malams.

796 Another extremely important yearly festival is called
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175 692 693 [645] whom appeals could be made to the high court in the capital. The keeper of the records or scribe of the high court, the Talba was considered the third most important person in the kingdom. It is said that this high court plus its scribe served as a council to the king in the affairs of state because of its members' knowledge in matters of law and religion.

175 692 643 [631] When the Birni dynasty fell in the 19th century, Shehu Laminu served as the highest judge in the land, thus bringing political and judicial functions even more closely together in the state. He kept the idea of an appeal court and local courts but did much of the high court adjudication himself. The relation of the temporal judiciary and its religious practitioners is illustrated by a European traveller's account in the 1820's,(1) who records that local judges' decisions could be reversed by the high court or the local political resident.

175 182 463 [44] The presence of a large upper class and a royal court with its patterns of specialized consumption, the uneven distribution of intensive cropping and craft production localities, the contacts with North Africa and to a lesser extent the western Sudan, for the last 1000 years, have all acted as conditions supporting the differentiation of labour in Bornu. This has produced the idea and the physical reality of the market.

175 439 Trade has been a well organized aspect of the society for centuries. A complex system of distribution and production through the market was observed by the first travellers in the area. Grain was dispatched to Bilma up in the desert in return for salt. This trade so tied the people of Bilma to Bornu that even today when the trade has been much reduced, they still feel themselves very closely allied to the Kanuri. Natron from Lake Chad was taken to Kano and from there traded all over coastal West Africa.

(1) Denham, D. and Clapperton, H. op. cit. p.23

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436 is to say, even those peasants marketing in the capital had not accepted the use of currency in 1850. Nevertheless some levels of the society must have been using the gursu (M.T. dollars) for some time, since Denham remarks that strips of cloth used for currency could be purchased in Bornu for forty to the M.T. dollar in the 1820's.(1) The market scenes observed by both Barth and earlier by Denham in the 19th century differ only slightly from those observed anywhere in Bornu today.

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72 As far as can be inferred from available sources, warfare and slave raiding made the life of the common people one of uneasy tension. Being the serf of one chief might not prevent a nearby potentate from sending out a raiding party which might easily clear out an entire local area of its inhabitants. The criterion which directed slave raiding only upon pagans was often honoured in the breach, especially if a chief's debts were [701] pressing. Again local life was often broken up by the feudal service in war which peasants owed to their chiefs. We are told in the history of Bornu of armies of thousands and campaigns which were waged annually year [182] after year for generations. In discussing this point, Denham felt that warfare resulted in a very mobile society where fortunes rose and fell rapidly and life as an intrinsic value was not highly regarded.(2) People in towns and villages, he says, are often mercilessly attacked and plundered. Accounts tell how the inhabitants, in attempting to fly, were caught by their attackers, whereupon, in most instances, the men were killed and the women and children lashed together and taken as slaves. Military men and their followers often died in droves on campaigns, widowing all their wives and concubines at one blow.

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In response to this constant warfare, villages in danger would

(1) Denham, D. and Clapperton; op. cit. p. 54
(2) Ibid; p. 135

Production

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182 Kanuri production is tied to two inter-related factors in the physical and social environment of Bornu. These are first the geographical and ecological characteristics of the area, and secondly the differentiation of production into agricultural and non-agricultural pursuits.

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[132] The Chad basin has a short rainy season running from June to September and crop production is carried during these months. Planting begins about the time of the first rains and the first hoeing takes place shortly afterward. The second hoeing occurs near the end of the rainy season and harvesting is carried out from the beginning of October to the end of November. Each hoeing requires between two to three weeks' work and harvesting may take as long as a month. Between these periods, beyond occasional scrutiny to see that straying cattle have not broken into and eaten the produce, very little work is required in cultivating crops. Thus work on crop production is concentrated into less than six months, leaving the rest of the year free for other activities.

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433 In Magumeri village area, one-third of the cultivators reported that they did nothing else but farm. Only a few of these have surpluses to sell. The remaining two-thirds of the cultivators are semi-subsistence producers who acquire the remainder of their income from some non-agricultural activity. All cultivators, however, raise some cash crop. The subsistence balance in the area as a whole is maintained by small pockets of intensive surplus producers scattered throughout the entire region. These people are, by family tradition, farmers. They generally have good farm soil, with larger and more numerous holdings per person and their dry season activity consists of marketing

423 are not in conflict, then no trouble emerges from these potentially conflicting criteria of land ownership.

425 428 [182] The following table, indicating sources of land acquisition, demonstrates the fact that for the most part Kanuri land tenure is closely related to traditional modes of socio-political organization.

TABLE XVII

Table of Modes of Land Acquisition for Seventy-five Cultivators

(1)

| Occupation | No. of plots | Inherited # | Inherited % | From pol. leader ∮ # | From pol. leader ∮ % | Cleared bush # | Cleared bush % | Bought or given as a gift # | Bought or given as a gift % | % of row totals |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| farmers | 48 | 31 | 64.6 | 7 | 14.6 | 9 | 18.8 | 1 | 2.1 | 100.0% |
| craftsmen | 27 | 17 | 62.9 | 10 | 37.1 | 0 | - | 0 | - | 100.0% |
| traders | 26 | 14 | 53.9 | 5 | 19.2 | 5 | 19.2 | 2 | 7.7 | 100.0% |
| pol. & rel. specialists | 23 | 10 | 43.5 | 10 | 43.5 | 2 | 8.7 | 1 | 4.3 | 100.0% |
| Totals | 124 | 72 | 58.1 | 32 | 25.8 | 16 | 12.9 | 4 | 3.2 | 100.0% |

∮ From Lawan or Bulama.

The table indicates that 58.1% of all farm land in the three towns examined was acquired through inheritance, i.e. kinship affiliation, while an additional 25.8% was obtained through some political relationship between the cultivator and his local leader. In other words, 83.9% of all land was acquired by producers as a result of their traditional roles in either the kinship or political organization of the rural scene, whereas only 16.1% of the land holdings were the result of individual effort, purchase or gift.

425 It should also be noted that the 25.8% of all land obtained from political leaders refers to cleared, bounded plots, not bushland.

177 441 duced new wants in consumer goods, and encouraged the spread of cash cropping and native middlemen to fill roles as distributors of western products, and as buyers of cash crops at the village level.

178 648 642 However, the Bornu Emirate under the British was not the same article as its 19th century predecessor. Its boundaries were now permanently delimited and required no great responsibility on the part of the local people to defend or expand. The military power of the Shehu and control of "foreign affairs" with other Sudanic military powers had now been taken over by the British, who performed these functions in accordance with the imperial policies of the colonial government of England. Indeed the need for militarism all but vanished since the Bornu political organization and territory were now dependent upon the position and policy of Great Britain in world affairs.

The policies of indirect rule created a climate of control wherein the previous cultural life could continue; however, because of the intrusion of the British administration into the top of the society as a controlling caste who were supposed to rule through local authorities, there occurred a potential weakening of the indigenous political [182] organization. Although a high degree of integration of law, religion and social organization remained, and all functioned to support authority, there were no other authorities at the top of Kanuri society. Unlike the authorities in the traditional society, the British had different values and goals. Because both traditional standards of performance and goals and the new ones are both enforceable, new conflicts have become possible in the contemporary society, especially in the political sphere.

602 571 In order to place kinship in a larger social context, behaviour associated with kinship has been categorized under four somewhat

182 But these norms are in turn dependent upon other phenomenon
183 in the society. Child training practices and the conditions under
571 which they occur teach recruits to the society how to operate in the adult world. The political and economic structure ensure that proper
178 bərzum relations are rewarded. Changes in these phenomenon will pro-
571 duce changes in the overall structure of society, and we have seen cer-
[555] tain changes already occurring. Thus western education is becoming more important as a means of upward mobility into the highly ranked civil
[156] service and this change in recruitment practices will continue. This is bound to produce personal conflicts for those who are subjected to the conflicting goals and standards of the two systems of socialization, which could manifest itself in a western trained group of reformers setting up pressure for change in the society.

Urbanization which has been increasing in the past twenty years will continue to do so in the near future. Norms of living are expanding to include more goods from the outside world. This is being constantly stimulated by improved channels of communication and transportation. The future of the present structure of Kanuri society is clearly dependent upon whether or not its political and economic organization can be maintained in the face of these ongoing changes as they accumulate through time.

178 Another way to think about the stability of Kanuri society
565 is to consider the possibility of class conflict. If such conflict is
578 possible, then a different kind of structure can emerge relative to the present. At the moment it is hierarchical segments which are often in opposition to one another. Class conflict sets up solidary or cohesive tendencies among horizontal strata of society and results in the opposition of segments containing relatively equal ranks.